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Ethnology of Pukapuka

By Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

122 124 The field work of which this monograph is a partial report was carried out on a Bishop Museum fellowship. For permission to visit Pukapuka we have to thank Judge Hugh F. Ayson, Resident Commissioner, Cook Islands. The resident agent and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Geoffrey Henry, and their family were continually generous and hospitable to us. We are especially indebted to them for acting as interpreters and for giving much time to what must often have seemed unrewarding labor. To Robert Dean Frisbie, who placed at our disposal his wide knowledge of fishing and astronomy, we also owe a debt of gratitude. We are under obligation to botanists of Bishop Museum staff for identification of plant specimens and to Mr. D'Alte Welch for shell identifications. Mr. Adrian Digby, Assistant Keeper, Department of Oriental Antiquities and of Ethnography, British Museum, London, very kindly forwarded to us a detailed description and photograph of Gill's "soul trap". In working up the material we have drawn freely on the knowledge and technical experience of Te Rangi Hiroa (Dr. P. H. Buck), to whom we owe our first introduction to the field of Polynesian ethnology.

114 127 Scientific work on Pukapuka has heretofore been limited to two brief accounts by Gill (10, 13)*, a paper by Hutchin (18), manuscript notes of a short visit to the atoll by Bryan (5), and a brief account by Macgregor (20) based on a three-day visit to the island in April 1933. The work of Gill and Hutchin is slight and of no great value. Bryan's notes gave us a preliminary orientation and Macgregor generously placed at our disposal before we left Honolulu a manuscript copy of his paper on Pukapuka. We were thus able to check Macgregor's material in the field, and have not considered it necessary to refer to his work on every occasion where his observations are at variance with ours.

121 128 In the field, Ernest Beaglehole was especially responsible for collecting material on social and economic organization, religion, traditional history, and material culture; Pearl Beaglehole for string figures, material on children, intimate aspects of family and domestic life, the household census, stories, and other textual material. The bulk of the manuscript was written by Ernest Beaglehole.

128 Certain records on which this study is based are filed in the library of Bernice P. Bishop Museum: lists of place names, names of land divisions, household lots and taro gardens, statistical records, native texts and notes.

* Numbers in parentheses refer to Literature Cited, p. 411.

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Further material awaiting publication includes studies of string figures, myths, stories and chants, and the life of children. A dictionary of the Pukapukan dialect and a study of Pukapukan anthropometry are in preparation.

INTRODUCTION

We spent about seven and a half months on Pukapuka, from November 3, 1934, to June 13, 1935. For six months of this time we lived in a coral lime house in the middle of Yato village. During the copra-making period we lived for six weeks in a native house in the settlement of Ngake village on Motu Ko.

Everyone on the island was interested in our work and willing to help. Genealogies and traditional history were recorded at formal sessions in ethnology carried on in the schoolhouse and later in the courthouse; as many as 50 men attended these sessions. One man acted as spokesman. He was interrupted frequently by those who thought he had made a slight error, and many fierce arguments were conducted between upholders of conflicting views before a compromise was reached and the discussion could proceed. More select were later sessions in the courthouse, usually attended by about five of the best informants. The systematic consideration of each phase of Pukapukan culture was taken up in these more intimate sessions. Principal informants were: Veti and Mitimoa, both over 65 years old; Eliu and Pau, both about 50 years old; and Talainga, about 40 years old. Pau was undoubtedly the scholar of this group. Though comparatively young, he was a keen student of things Pukapukan, equally well informed on all aspects of the culture. Veti and Mitimoa were well informed in their own right but functioned more as consulting authorities than as original informants. The youngest of the group, Talainga, made up for disadvantages of age by keenness and conscientiousness. At our suggestion he wrote several notebooks full of old chants and stories which are models of Pukapukan prose and verse. Eliu was a reliable and willing informant. His wife, Molingi, about 33 years old, was a most capable and enthusiastic informant on the women's aspects of Pukapukan life. The high chief, Nawani, whose great age—about 100 years—rendered his memory unreliable, was unfortunately not a very valuable informant.

Our arrival on the island and our stated purpose to study the life of the Pukapukan people with reference to the ways and customs of pre-missionary times created something of a sensation. The process of rethinking themselves, under our stimulus, back into past times and of recapturing past customs was necessarily a slow one, but, once started, informants went ahead with enthusiasm and interest. At first their memories were somewhat haphazard and vague, but after several months of inter-group discussions and revival of old chants, informants were able to speak with increasing assurance about old-time practices.

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Stone Seats

Formerly a man might make on the outer beach a stone seat (*tokeuve-langi*) on which to rest in the cool of the evening, eat the evening meal, and sleep. Informants stated that the two Pukapukan voyagers, Tonu and Taea, saw stone seats on the island of Wakalava and introduced the idea on their return to Pukapuka.

There was apparently much latitude in the way these stone seats were built. Some were built with a stone seat, stone back rest, and a slab at either side for an arm rest; others were made by hollowing out a shallow depression in the sand and facing the bottom and sides of the depression with coral slabs. The sides were inclined at an angle of about 10 to 15 degrees to the bottom; the bottom was at least 6 feet long, and 3 feet wide, wider if a man planned to take wife or sweetheart to sit with him. Other seats were made according to fancy. Each seat was named after its owner and served as a symbol of his prestige. No seats are used today, most of the stones having been used for oven stones: missionary teaching does not countenance the use of stone seats on lonely outer beaches. Macgregor's statement (20, p. 25) that the idea of these seats was brought to Pukapuka by the people of Yapake and that they were used by priests as religious structures for the offering of turtle and fish to the gods received no support from informants who were strongly of the opinion that the seats were places of rest and recreation only.

The stone seat on the southeastern outer beach of Motu Ko, which tradition states was used by the bird man Wutu-ananava-mai, is now in ruins. The remains of other seats lie close by. The outer beach has been elevated at this place by the piling up of coral gravel through wave action and the ruins of the seats are situated well under the lee of the raised beach. To have been useful as cool resting sites, the seats must have been built before this beach was elevated. The ruins consist of fragments of stone 1 to 2 feet square. The original stone seat, suggested informants, has been gone for many generations, washed away by high seas. A later generation built on the same site, but these seats were mostly destroyed by the seas; those that remained were pulled down under missionary influence.

Walls

Stone walls marking the boundaries of the reserves (p. 35) have now almost disappeared, but remnants of the wall round Uta are to be seen at the place Matala. The wall consists of large slabs of coral conglomerate set on edge. The old gate (*fu*) through this wall still remains. It consists of a gap about 2 feet wide marked on either side by a stone reputed to have been carried there by the warrior Kupola. One stone is 7 feet wide, 8 inches thick, and 4 feet 8 inches above ground; the other is 7 feet 8 inches wide, 22 inches thick and 4 feet 4 inches above ground. Each stone is set about 3 feet in the ground. The size of the stones, if typical of all the stones forming the wall, indicates the great labor of building the wall.

House Foundations

The use of small coral slabs set on edge to form the boundary of the house platform and the use of coral pebbles to form the house floor is described on page 116.

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227 284 the lashing and serves as a single secondary hackle for the distal side. The third hook has on the near side a length of thread which is knotted round the proximal hole lashing and the free end of which passes to the distal hole lashing on the same side, is knotted round this and cut off about 1½ inches from the distal lashing. On the far side, a thread was probably fastened in a similar way, but has been subsequently broken.

227 284 171 Two of the 28 hooks have points with three holes. Informants suggested that both of these hooks showed Manihiki influence. One of them was made by a Manihiki man long resident in Pukapuka and is one of the hooks with the exceptional secondary hackle. The snood is passed through the middle hole, turns between proximal hole and head hole are added as is customary with Pukapukan hooks, and the snood is seized as far as the head with turns that pick up and drop these head turns. The proximal hole lashing passes over the snood loop. The attachment of the snood to the middle hole is the attachment described by Buck (29, p. 177, fig. 89,*e*), and was done presumably for the same reason Buck gives; that is, because of the position of the holes—the middle hole being very close to the distal hole, the snood is passed through the middle [illegible] of the proximal hole, to prevent the point lashings from being too close together. The addition to this hook of the Pukapukan method of seizing the snood presents an interestingly lashed hook which shows characteristic lashing patterns of two atoll cultures fused in the one object and illustrates also the importance of the personality of the fisherman in initiating new features. The hook has no filler sticks.

In the second hook with three point holes, the snood is passed through the proximal hole, the point lashings through the middle and distal holes. The hook is otherwise lashed according to Pukapukan technique and has filler sticks.

227 284 **Winding of snood.** After use, the bonito hook and snood are detached from the bonito rod and soaked in fresh water to wash out the salt from cord and lashings. The hooks are hung to dry in the shade. The snoods are then wound in a characteristic way.

Commencing about 5 inches from the head of the shank, the snood is wound transversely in longitudinal lengths round the fingers of one hand. When the winding has reached a point about 12 inches from the free end of the snood, the lengths are slipped from the fingers and passed over the point of the hook so that they lie along the front of the shank above the seized part of the snood. The free end of the snood is then passed transversely round shank and snood lengths about the middle point of the shank and the finishing end fastened to the last transverse turn with half hitches or overhand knots. The compact bundle of hook and snood is then placed away in safety until it is required again.

227 171 114 **Summary.** The Pukapukan bonito hook shows a number of constant features which make it a typical example of the western Polynesian bonito hook class as regards both type of point and the attachment of the snood to the point. Examination of a number of hooks reenforces conclusions drawn by Buck from a comparative study of bonito hooks (29, pp. 187-194). Pukapukan variations on the type pattern, while interesting in themselves, merely accentuate constant features of this pattern.

Macgregor (20, pp. 30-31)[1] from an examination of eight bonito hooks in Bernice P. Bishop Museum attributed to Pukapuka, states that Pukapukan hooks "have features other than the snood attachment which make the two types [of eastern and western Polynesian bonito hooks] more diverse than Buck's classification suggests." Macgregor proceeded on the basis of his Pukapukan hooks to make a subdivision in the western group between purely western (Samoa to Pukapuka) and marginal western (presum-

1. [See 2: McGregor--- analyst.]

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ably Pukapuka, also Manihiki, Rakahanga, Fagatau). It is unfortunate, however, that of the eight hooks on which this newer division is based, four only are Pukapukan, the remaining four hooks being typical Manihiki hooks. Informants were at great pains to make the point clear that Manihiki hooks attributed to Pukapuka were not authentically Pukapukan even if they were procured from a Manihikian man on Pukapuka. In any case they felt that the collector had become confused in his localities and had mislabeled hooks actually procured from Manihiki. Examination of the series of 28 bonito hooks indicates clearly that all but two of these conform to one general type and that the remaining two definitely show Manihiki influence. Hence one may conclude that Macgregor's analysis was based on an unfortunate mislabeling of museum specimens which invalidates his whole argument and indicates that Buck's analysis may still be taken as final.

Two old Pukapukan bonito hooks are figured in the literature: one collected by Gill before 1877 and shown by Beasley (4, pl. XLIX A, 1), a hook with a pearl-shell shank and turtle-shell point, apparently conforming in all particulars to the type Pukapukan hook. A second hook figured by Edge-Partington (8, 1st ser., pl. 62, 4) is also a typical Pukapukan hook. These hooks help to establish the stability of the Pukapukan type.

Small Composite Hooks

227 Small composite trolling hooks (*pa*) are made with pearl-shell shanks and turtle-shell points (fig. 43, *a*). Hooks with shanks from 2 to 2½ inches long are used in trolling for *homuli* fish and are named generically *pa taki homuli*. Smaller hooks, with shanks from 1 to 1¾ inches long, are used for *malou* fish and are termed *pa malou*.

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FIGURE 43.—Small trolling hook (*pa taki homuli*) (Cat. 33). *a*, composite hook: point (1) first lashed to shank (2) through proximal hole (3); snood (4) passed through proximal hole and seized with free end of proximal hole lashings; seizing continues until head is reached when thread makes transverse turns (5) around shank and binds them with circumferential turns (6), then seizes snood for about 1 inch beyond head; distal hole (7) of point lashed, commencing with thread passing from proximal hole underneath shank (8) across to distal hole on far side, thence back through distal hole and around shank to fix lacide (9) of sinnet fiber with oblique turns; no secondary lacide on this hook; filler sticks (10) inserted between lashings and sides of point base. *b*, small trolling hook points of turtle shell: 1, large point, beveled edges, rounded bend, and inverted functional point; 2, small point, rounded bend, short inverted functional point. *c*, pearl-shell shank: 1, notched projecting head; 2, wider part; 3, tail.

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Soul Trap

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Though I believe the so-called "soul trap" was not used in Pukapukan culture but was only an ideological concept of one of the many traps with which the Underworld was full (p. 329), nevertheless particulars of the soul trap sold by Gill in 1876 to Sir Wollaston Franks for the British Museum may be given here. The following description as well as the print of the central portion of the trap (pl. 6) has been forwarded to me by Mr. Adrian Digby of the British Museum.

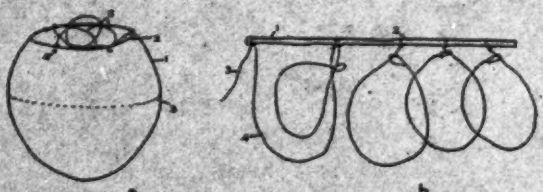

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Figure 48.—Bird snares. *a*, snare for *kui* birds (*mwenga kui*) (C8135): drinking nut (1) 4 inches high, with top removed to form opening (2) 3 inches in diameter; flesh removed from inside upper portion of nut down to dotted line (3); five holes bored through shell just below rim (4) and a length of prepared coconut fiber passes through each hole to be fastened by knot; free end of each fiber forms a slip noose (5); snare set by making five nooses which pass through each other and so block opening. *b*, snare (*mwenga tuli*) (C8060) for *tuli* birds, section only of snare shown: stick (1) section of coconut midrib, 4 feet 4 inches long, ¾ inch in diameter; lengths of prepared coconut fiber (2) knotted at regular intervals along stick; fibers each knotted into slip nooses of which there are 23 on stick, each about 2¾ inches in diameter; long fiber (3) with loop at end knotted to each end of stick and loop dropped over peg to anchor stick in place; a fixed loop (4) is knotted to each end of stick and placed over peg or held down with a stone to give more secure placement to snare; wings (*pa*) of coconut leaves and stones fan out at an angle of about 145 degrees from each end of stick to ensure that birds do not escape around ends of snare.

The trap (no. 9925, Christy Coll., British Mus.) has a total length of 19 feet 4½ inches and consists of eight loops (of which only six are shown in pl. 6) made by binding three-ply braid round a core. This core is made of double lengths of three-ply braided sennit, loose coconut fibers (probably those adhering to the roughly made sennit), and some two-ply twisted *uoo* fiber. The loops are lashed in pairs to a long three-ply sennit braid which tapers at both ends. The shorter end (F) terminates in a two-ply twist about 2 inches long. The material used in lashing loops to the central cord is a combination of coarse three-ply braid, with either a fine three-ply braid or a two-ply twist. No details of the lashing are available. Mr. Digby suggests that part of the material used in lashing the pair of loops (D) is a small quantity of bark cloth. But bark cloth was never made in Pukapuka, and it is probable that the material has been confused either with coconut leaf stipule (*kaka*) which is not generally used for lashings because of the weakness of the fibers, or else with thick strips of *uoo* fiber.

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period, organization was in terms of either town or *yelongo* units. Village membership is the rule for team organization today, as that Loto village contests with Ngake and with Yato villages. It is probable that missionary effort hastened this change. Informants believed, however, that groupings of maternal or paternal units are superior to the village grouping. The following example was given: suppose there is a man who was born in Ngake, but who affiliates and resides (*nofo*) in Yato. In an inter-village contest he fishes for Yato. He hooks a fish. If he pulls it into his canoe, his Ngake friends are angry with him for catching a fish for a rival village, and thus helping to defeat the village of his birth. If he lets the fish escape, his Yato friends are angry with him for remembering the village of his birth to the exclusion of his adopted village. Hence the man is at the mercy of conflicting loyalties, and he antagonizes friends whichever way he acts. The old maternal or paternal organization, therefore, was superior to the present village division.

Food divisions following fishing contests and other games are always in terms of either maternal or paternal organization. They are arranged in advance by village elders and food distributors. Before the division of food for a fishing contest (*malama*), the food dividers asked me how I wished the food to be divided. As I left the responsibility to them, they decided to make the division on the paternal (*yelongo*) principle. The food was first divided into three equal piles for the villages; then each pile was divided among the paternal lineages of each village.

Food divisions at marriage and birth feasts were formerly always in terms of maternal units. This is still common today, though division is sometimes made among the actual household groups concerned in the marriage. Food divisions of reserve lands produce are always in terms of village division. This follows the rule that control of reserves and work thereon is always maintained by village groupings.

It is a permissible speculation to consider Pukapukan history as a struggle for dominance between these three social groupings, principally however, between the maternal and paternal lineages. At the present time, the paternal lineage is much more important in social organization than the maternal grouping. The maternal sub-lineages still influence marriage and control land, but they share these functions with the paternal lineages and with the villages. The smaller maternal lineages seem to be dying out, or at least to be more and more subsumed by the moiety groupings. Dwindling numbers could easily be remedied by recourse to adoption, but maternal lineage adoption is rare, for the reason that few wish to take the trouble to keep the maternal lineages alive. The fact that the maternal lineage memberships of the principal characters in legends and stories are not remembered suggests that even in an immediate past these groupings were not as important as the paternal groupings. At the present time, the paternal lineage is strong in its control of wealth, rank, inheritance, and succession. Both paternal and maternal lineages control food divisions and previously controlled organization for contests.

Kennedy (1930:297), speaking of Vaisapuan social structure, especially with reference to the exchanges of presents at marriage and birth, sees definite evidence "of dual organization and matrilineal descent". The maternal lineage in Pukapuka also functions as a controlling unit at birth and marriage. Kennedy believes that in respect to dual organization, Vaisapu "was at a

stage of transition from matrilineal to patrilineal descent wherein the point of equilibrium had not long been passed in favor of patrilineal descent." This is strikingly parallel to Pukapuka, but unfortunately Kennedy's analysis of Vaitupuan social structure is so unclear that no more particular comparisons may be made.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Age Groups

Pukapukan society has a well-developed system of age grades through which each individual passes. Political functions for the island as a whole were at one time exercised by men of the oldest age group, the *tupale*. These men served as an advisory council to the chief (*aliki*), who might be of any age group. Control of village affairs was and is nominally in the hands of all the men of the village, though older men naturally have more power because of their experience; women have no formal political duties. Membership in successive age groups was determined by the functioning of a mechanism called *tai tangata*:

> The age of a person is reckoned from birth. The first woman to give birth to a first-born child in each season of six months, whatever her paternal or maternal lineage or her village, announces that her child is the *tai tangata* for that six-month period, which is then called *te tahulenga a Mea* (the year—six months—of So-and-so). All other children born in the same period are classed in the age group of this *tai tangata* and are known collectively as a *tai tangata* group. Hence a man says: "Koe wenua au i te tahulenga a Mea" (I was born in the year of So-and-so), or, "Ko Mea, te wahanaki *a* taku *tai tangata*" (So-and-so is the first-born of my *tai tangata*). If, as occasionally happens, no first-born child is born in the season (planters' season), then the oldest first-born child of the succeeding season ye (taro season) becomes the *tai tangata* of the preceding season's group, and all children born during the twelve-month period are classed with this *tai tangata*. There is thus a slight variability in *tai tangata* periods, but the important thing to remember is the serial temporal order of the *tai tangata*. This enables a person to reckon his age with sufficient accuracy for practical purposes. One *tai tangata* group succeeds its predecessor in progressing from one age grade to the next. No ceremonial device is used to keep watch of the order of *tai tangata*.

The Pukapukans recognize a number of age grades or life periods:

Kakiganaui (child covered by a mat): infant up to the age of about 3 months.
Kalimatanua (sleeping child): infant from 4 to 10 months.
Fanauanga (immature crowers): boys and girls from walking age to about 10 years, also called to tamaliki or to kamaliki (children).
Tuingatanga and tuaitanga (to put on a malo or kiri): youths and girls who have reached *matalingaki* adulthood.
Kimatangitau: young people who have assumed first responsibilities as adults; more commonly called kopa and fanauwawine.
Tane and vawine: married men and women, adults with families.
Matangitau ki tangata matua: older men and women of the community, from the age of about 50 years on.
Tupale: the old, gray-haired men of the community, sometimes called in general to kau matua.

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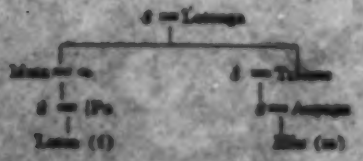
cousin-in-avoidance—is the man's *ilomatu*. The father calls the child *my ilomatu;* the child calls the father *my matua*. No such term would be applied to the child of a brother adopted by the brother's sister, nor to a grandchild adopted by grandparents.

Hutchin (18) is the authority for the statement that *inakava* (*sic*) is the term applied to the daughter of a sister. What this means is not clear. The word *yinakava* is archaic and is found only in old chants. It is applied to anything or anybody which is tapu. Hence the god house on a double canoe or a sacred structure is *yinakava*. Similarly one who stands in the relationship of cousin-in-avoidance to the speaker is *yinakava* to the speaker. A man might call his cousin-in-avoidance *my yinakava*, but only under stress of emotion as in mourning ceremonies; in a love chant one's cousin-in-avoidance may be addressed, by poetic metaphor, as *yinakava*.

Avoidance relations hold between those who are related to each other as *kainga tuakana* or as *tuale atua*, and differ in intensity for the two types of relationship. The *tuale atua* relationship involved more complete avoidance. But what constituted the difference between the two relationships is hard to distinguish at this date, as both have largely disappeared under missionary influence. Groups of informants were decidedly unclear on the subject, some giving as *tuale atua*, for instance, the names of people who did not themselves recognize their *tuale atua* relationship to the others. Pau gave the clearest definition of both terms:

First cousins of opposite sex, whether cross or parallel, stand to each other in the relationship of *kainga tuakana*. In the next generation, children of opposite sex of these *kainga tuakana* are *tuale atua* to each other. In the next generation children of opposite sex of *tuale atua* are also *tuale atua*, and so on, theoretically as long as the common kind of descent is remembered. Children of the same sex of *kainga tuakana* are *taina* to each other. Children of these *taina*, as also children of *taina*, themselves the children of brother and sister, if of opposite sex, are *tuale atua* to each other. Similarly, children of the same sex, of *tuale atua* are *taina* to each other, but children of opposite sex, of these *taina*, are *tuale atua*, because, in both cases, the remembered ancestors two generations back were either *tuale atua* or *kainga tuakana* to each other. This is illustrated in the genealogy:



Nina and Tolona are brother and sister. Their children, cross cousins of the same sex, are *taina* to each other. The children of these *taina*, Lotea and Elia, are *tuale atua* because they are related through *taina*, first cousins of the same sex, who again are descended from ideal brother and sister. Children of Elia and Lotea, of the opposite sex, are *tuale atua* to each other.

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776 114 that is, gods whose names are remembered today. In addition a host of minor gods, attendant spirits, and servant gods of the major gods were recognized.

Stimson (25,p.101), without quoting authority, gives Kio as the name of a Pukapukan god and suggests that this god is related to the Mangaian god Tanekio (Tane-the-chirper). Repeated inquiry failed to reveal the slightest knowledge of such a god. The only meaning given for the Pukapukan word *kio* is as the name of the children's game. Possible Pukapukan dialectical cognates of *kiko*, which would be *kiso* or *kiyo*, are unknown to informants.

Principal God

776 613 562 Mataliki, the major god of i Tua lineage, was the great god of the atoll in the sense that the chief of i Tua lineage was the supreme chief of the island. He was a sort of state god. There is no evidence to suggest that he was in any way supreme over the other gods, that he controlled them spiritually, or was the head of the Pukapukan pantheon. He was simply major god of island affairs, leaving each of the other lineage gods supreme in lineage affairs. In general, Mataliki is the supreme god of male things in Pukapuka, and men claim him as their special protector, referring to the members of their sex as *te manu o Mataliki* (the birds of Mataliki). At one time it was tapu for women to go to the reserves because they were under the control of Mataliki. No women except the sacred maid were allowed to enter either a fishing or voyaging canoe. The saying is, "Te manu a Mataliki, ka wo ki te moana, te manu a Tuna nofo ai i lunga a te wenua" (The bird—man—of Mataliki goes on the sea, the bird—woman—of Tuna stays on land).

Besides his duties as a god of i Tua, Mataliki implemented the secular control over village lands. If a man went to the reserve to steal, Mataliki shouted a warning to him as he started to climb a tree. If the thief persisted, then the next time he went fishing, Mataliki sent a shark to swim around his canoe and frighten him or a big wave to swamp the canoe. Mataliki also cared for the morals of voyaging Pukapukans (p. 401). For the origin of Mataliki and other gods, see page 375.

Gods of Patrilineal Lineages

[953] Tuna, also god of i Tua, was the special guardian of women. Women are referred to as *te manu o Tuna* (birds of Tuna). Thus, no man would dare touch a woman in a brawl or quarrel because Tuna would punish him by afflicting him with a big tumor under the armpit. Though her powers were great, Tuna was never elevated from her position as goddess of i Tua to the high station accorded Mataliki—possibly because she was a female god.

Tuna prevented anyone's eating or using as implements parts of the

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778 sacred maid. Somewhere on the god's clearing, the god house was erected. This might be close to or on the place where the man was killed, though that site was more often commemorated by a stone or group of stones. Examined in old Ngake were two sacred clearings which ran together; at the place of intersection, two god houses were erected. Today, the clearings are mostly overgrown with bush, but some may still be detected by lines of coconut trees in otherwise naturally planted bush.

778 613 361 A list, furnished by Talainga, of the principal sacred enclosures and clearings of Pukapuka is given below:

Village	Lineage	Sacred Enclosure	Sacred Clearing
Ngake			Malangātiale
			Vakayala
			Kui-manuila
	Muliwutu	Tumulivaka ma Muila	
		Te Vayi	
		Yawenga	
	Matanga	Te Matakiate ma Malokitelangi ma Tumuilangi	
		Te Alongaoa	
		Tulikalo	
Loto			Kui
			Te Atua-ngutu-uli
			Poiva ma Taukava
			Wakakewiti
	iTua	Matalliki ma Tamayei	
		Te Ulu-takapau	
		Tupale	
		Tuna	
	Yaugalipale	Kui	
Yato			iTe Umutoke
			iLowia
			iKailia
	Tuuiaunga	Te Maungaiva	
		Tuumaliunga	
	Yaliunga	Tawiteuga	
		Te Maugauauga	

Material Representation of Gods

778 114 The only representation of gods known to informants was the slab of coral stone (*vato*) that rested on the enclosure. None of these stones remains today. Some informants believe that one of the foundation piles of a copra shed on the Loto beach is part of the stone that formerly represented the goddess Tuna; this is a big block of *pauga* coral. It would seem that no god had a cut stone image; nor was there ever any god representation made in wood, sennit, or feathers. No reference to stone or wooden images occurs in any of the old chants or stories. Gill (10, p. 180), however, mentions that on his visit to Pukapuka after the natives were converted, he saw a great pile of rejected gods on the beach. In another place Gill (11, pp. 60-61) states

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

that on this same occasion "natives brought me a large collection of idols of secondary rank." One old man approached Gill with a large lump of pumice, blackened by long exposure to rain and wind, which had evidently drifted to Pukapuka from some other island. The old man told Gill that the pumice was known as Ko-te-tolo-enana (The Light-stone), evidently a descriptive name only, and "was regarded as the god of the wind and the waves. Upon occasions of a hurricane, incantations and offerings of food would be made to it." It seems likely that Gill was mistaken about the existence of Pukapukan images, if by this term is meant carved or shaped objects of wood or stone. Though Gill notes (11, p. 61) that he deposited this piece of pumice with other Pukapukan gods in the museum of the University of Sydney, I have been unable to trace their whereabouts today.

Priests

A priest was generally called a *tuaki*. When in active consultation with his god in the god house he was referred to as a *tangata vai atua*. The following is the most consistent view of the choice, induction and duties of the priest:

The priest was chosen from the paternal lineage (*pe*) which worshiped the particular god. The group of priests of each lineage seems to have served for two years and then retired from active priestly duties. The retirement was marked by a procession (*unkeyaeringa*) in which a succeeding group of priests also participated.

Qualifications for the priesthood required that a man be old, that he have appropriate dream experience and the requisite physical makeup which would allow him to experience trances and other types of dissociated personality. A man tentatively selected to be a priest was required to spend the night in the god house of his lineage, no house requirement if the god house was close to a cemetery, because the vigil keeper would surely be plagued by *aitu* (malicious spirits of the dead). During his vigil, the initiate was expected to have some significant emotional experience that might be interpreted as contact with other-worldly powers—a dream vision, or a dream visit to the Underworld, or hearing the speaking of strange tongues. On the morrow the experience was reported to the body of priests assembled in the god house, who judged the validity of the experience and confirmed or rejected the candidate on the basis of its apparent authenticity. If the candidate was accepted, he joined in the procession (*unkeyaeringa*). It was suggested that from three to five men might be formally admitted to the lineage priesthood every two years. It is likely that the succession of the priests was governed by the *tai tangata* (birth group) principle and that the new priests were chosen from the twenty to thirty members of the birth groups for two years.

During the period of office, the priests lived exclusively in the god house, served by the attendants of this house. They devoted all their time to the service of the lineage gods by frequent consultations. They grew fat and sleek through this sedentary life. At the time of their retirement all the priests, both old and new, donned their priestly dress and walked in procession (*unkeyaeringa*) through the villages, visiting in turn all the god houses of the sub-lineages of the lineage grouping. This procession was held to coincide with the night of the full moon, the rationalization being that the priests were like the *tupua* (crabs and burrowing animals) which live in holes from which they come on the nights of the full moon to go to the beach, bathe, and take on a new shell. Like the crabs, the priests emerged from the god houses when they retired. The time of the procession was one of great feasting for the members of the

I:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

Lana (1). As has already been mentioned, little use was made of white magic in economic activities.

The only black magic indulged in seems to have been based on suggestion; no bait objects were used. A priest might silently or orally curse a man with sickness, or else pray to his god either to send an evil substance to eat out an enemy's vitals or send an evil familiar spirit, the spirit of one newly dead, for instance, to enter a man for the same purpose. This was done solely through the power of the priest to communicate with the god and not by using or working upon material objects. When it was known that a man had been thus mentioned to a god by a priest, the man would sicken unless he could get another priest to apply to another god for counter-protection.

Mention has been made (p. 328) of the nooses (*matupili*) that Wotoa and Te Yoa saw hanging from the *puka* tree of Tangi which were used to trap and strangle spirits. Gill reports that he procured from Pukapuka an "erevaerua" (soul trap), which was used by the priests in the upper world to trap the souls of living victims (pl. 6). Gill (10, p. 181) writes:

> If a person had the misfortune to offend the "sacred men", or were very ill, a soul-trap would be suspended by night from a branch of one of the gigantic laurel trees (*puka*) overshadowing his dwelling. If the family enquired "the sin for which the soul-trap was set up," some ceremonial offense against the gods would of course be assigned. The priest would sit opposite watching. If an insect or small bird chanced to fly through one of the loops, it was asserted that the soul of the culprit, assuming this form, had passed into the trap. The demon VAEKUA,[2] or "spirit" presiding over the spirit world, was believed to hurry off the unlucky soul to the shades, to feast upon. It would speedily be known throughout the island that So-and-so had lost his soul, and great would be the lamentation.
>
> The friends of the unhappy man would seek to propitiate the sorcerer by large presents of food and property, begging him to intercede with dread VAEKUA for the restoration of the soul. This was sometimes accomplished; but at other times the priests reported that his prayers were unavailing, and VAEKUA could not be induced to send back the spirit to reinhabit the body. The culprit fully believing all that the priest said—was he not the mouth-piece of the gods, and cognisant of the secrets of the spirit-world?—gave up all hope. His friends mourned over him as one dead; and at last the poor fellow faded away through sheer mental distress at having his spirit ensnared.
>
> In cases of mere sickness, where the friends were anxious to know whether the sick man would get well again, if the priest reported that his spirit did not enter the snare, it was inferred that he would recover.
>
> I enquired why some of the loops were so large, whilst others were so small. The "sacred-man" said to me, testily, "Don't you know that there are different sorts of souls —some small and others large?" I understood him to mean that the large loops were to entrap the souls of adults, the smaller ones to catch the souls of infants. The words used would imply that the large loops were for the souls of chiefs, and the small ones for the souls of common people.

The Pukapukan for *ere vaerua* would be *ysie vaelua* (noose spirit-like or spirit-like noose), but the word *vaelua* would rarely be used in this sense; a

[2] Presumably Gill here refers to the departmental god, Te Atua Vaelua.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

more correct name would be *yolo mauli*. Many informants were repeatedly questioned about this soul trap, separately and together, and all agreed that Gill must have confused a bird trap or bird noose which he saw hanging to a tree with the story he heard of the *matapili* noose in the Underworld. One type of bird noose, *yolo mawa* (fig. 4,*b*), consisted of loops of sennit suspended from a *puka* tree. It is significant that Gill talks about a birdlike representative of a soul passing into the *ara vaerua*. It is likely, I think, that in order to blacken the past, a convert made for Gill what he said was a soul trap. From the old chant, "Maka taku kupu ko te tonoanga", informants quoted the following phrases to confirm their point that the noose was used in the Underworld only:

Na yolea ko te talakelake	You were tied to the *talakelake* tree
Wakawiwi ake te mauli, koa mate, koa elo	(Your) soul was tangled (in the trap), died, stank,
Wakatautili ai tuaa i te pu o te puka a Tangi,	We were both thrown to the foot of the *puka* tree of Tangi,
Wakauka ko te wale poutini . . .	Entered the house of a thousand posts (the house of Lava) . . .

If the soul trap was really an instrument of witchcraft, as Gill was assured, then it acted through the force of suggestion. The priest did not work over the insect or bird that passed through the noose with incantations in order to provoke sickness or death.

Several informants were questioned on different occasions as to their knowledge of black magic. Examples of black magic in western Europe were adduced to give them confidence, but even this lead got no results. Even if informants have willfully forgotten material on sorcery which must to them smack of heathen practices, one might expect some survival of precautions directed against sorcery in the treatment of objects closely connected with the person. But the Pukapukan customs governing the disposal of objects charged with high personality tension, as compared with customs elsewhere in Polynesia, where fear of sorcery led to rigorous tapus or the disposal of such objects, indicate that there was extremely little fear of sorcery in Pukapuka:

The sea took care of adult excreta, and of most child excreta; no precautions are taken today to dispose of excreta of children too young to go to the sea. Adults expectorate anywhere. Finger and toe nails are cut anywhere; formerly they were bitten off and spat out onto the ground. According to informants, the hair was rarely cut during life, and was worn long by both sexes. Some informants said that hair clippings were buried; others said that hair was often cut from a dead person, particularly from the head of a deceased favorite child, and the hair plaited into a malo or else into a cord by which pearl-shell ornaments were hung on the breast. Formerly, if a woman's hair fell into food, the food was considered spoiled by this contact. When a tooth pained, it was pulled out, taken to the god house of the lineage and deposited there with a prayer to the god of the lineage that he send a new tooth to replace the one thus given to the god. Old clothes were burned or used as rags. Today clothes are worn to rags

1/2. [See p. 64, category 116—analyst.]

I:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

TRADITIONAL HISTORY

ORIGIN

114 173 773

Two previous accounts of the origin and traditional history of Pukapuka have appeared. One was written in 1877 in the Rarotongan language, probably by a Rarotongan native missionary in Pukapuka and recorded by Gill (13). The other was recorded in Rarotongan by Ula, the father of one of our best informants, Pau, and collected by Hutchin (18), who visited the island in 1904. Though incoherent and scrappy, probably because they were hurriedly written, these accounts give details which confirm the material that I collected where it is possible to equate names. Little information about traditional history has apparently been lost in the intervening years. The origin of Pukapuka is related in the following account: 1

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E teia kakao mai lalo o te papa o te moana. Kakao loa, kakao mai loa ki luga. Tupu loa ki te wolo.

Ko teia atua nei, ko Tamayei, e atua teia yau mai Tonga; na Tonga i a Tamayei. Yia loa i a Tonga e Maui Potiki. Wuwuti loa, wuwuti loa, ma te tautapa ki a Maui Mua ma Maui Loto, "Onoonowiake taku ika nei, pewea?" Ko kikokiko i a Maui Potiki e tana ika ia. Wuwuti loa i a Maui Potiki. Wuwuti loa ma te valevalo ki a Maui Mua, "Onoonowiake, pewea taku ika nei?" Koa tipi te ika, tipi ki te toe kaokao, tipi ki te toe kaokao. Koa pau te kawa luga, koa pau te wuwuti ki loto o te vaka ma te wuwuti a Maui Potiki.

Oko loa ki te kawalalo a Maui ua te talatala i a Maui ki a Maui Mua ma Maui Loto, "Taku ika nei e yaya ulua, no?" ma te wuwuti a Maui Potiki. Wuwuti ki luga, wuwuti ki luga. Tauvalo loa i a Maui Potiki, "Onootowia te papalangi, koa lele na vave o te ika." Onoono i a Maui Mua, e ulu lakau teia. Kaka loa i a Maui Mua,

"Wooo, e wenua te mea nei." Wuwuti loa ki luga, koa oko ki te luga o tana kau. Kakalo atu latou, koa kakao mai te toe konga o te ulu lakau. Kakao oki te toe konga. Kakao oki te toe konga. Wuwuti la, wuwuti la, oko ki luga. Ili loa te vaka ki luga. E wenua pe te ika ya wuwuti e Maui. Ko Tonga teia wenua. Koa pau ki luga te wenua.

A rock came up from below the rock-bottom of the sea. It came up, came up on top. It grew to be large.

This god, Tamayei, was a god, this one, who came from Tonga; from Tonga was Tamayei. Tonga was fished up by Maui Potiki. He pulled up, pulled up, appealing to Maui Mua and Maui Loto, "Look here, what is my fish?" Maui Potiki was being mightily resisted by his fish. Maui Potiki pulled in. He pulled in, calling to Maui Mua, "Look here, what is my fish?" The fish was pulling, pulling to one side, pulling to the other side. The top line was finished, finished pulling inside the canoe, by the pulling of Maui Potiki.

The lower line of Maui was reached, with Maui saying to Maui Mua and Maui Loto, "My fish here is a *yaya ulua*, isn't it?" with Maui Potiki pulling up. He pulled up, pulled up. Maui Potiki called out, "Look at the horizon, the strengths of the fish fly." Maui Mua looked, these were tree tops, Maui Mua shouted,

"Wo! This is an island." He pulled up, reached the place of his fishhook. They looked; another part of the tree-tops was appearing. Another part still appeared. And another part appeared. He pulled up, pulled up, reached the top. The canoe rocked on top. The fish pulled in by Maui was indeed an island. Tonga is that island. The island floats on sea.

1. [See category 539 or 116-- analyst.]

2:Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans

NOTES ON THE ETHNOLOGY OF PUKAPUKA

By

GORDON MACGREGOR

INTRODUCTION

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The present notes on Pukapuka are based on field observations which I made during the three-day visit of the Templeton Crocker Expedition to the island in April 1933, on a study of artifacts in Bernice P. Bishop Museum, and on ethnological information about the island found in literature.

During the visit I remained ashore as the guest of Mr. Geoffrey Henry, Resident Agent, who extended to the party all the courtesy and hospitality for which the South Seas are noted and devoted all his time to us, explaining what he could of Pukapukan customs, guiding us to places of interest, and arranging dances and wrestling exhibitions. I am deeply grateful to him for the ethnological information and the time he devoted to interpreting for me while I questioned native informants. Appreciation and thanks are due also to the chiefs and people of Pukapuka for ethnological specimens.

I am particularly indebted to Mr. Templeton Crocker for his generous invitation to accompany the expedition, for his notes and measurements of the large sailing canoe and the native names of the parts of bonito hooks, and for permission to use the excellent drawings and photographs made by Mr. Toshio Asaeda.

LANGUAGE

The Pukapuka dialect has five vowels, *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, and nine consonants, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *ng*, *p*, *t*, *v*, and *w*. The *h* is dropped but is represented in speech by the glottal closure, as in the Mangaian dialect and two Maori dialects (14, p. 6). * The sound *th* is frequently given instead of *h*.

When the glottal closure is at the beginning, and sometimes when it is in the middle of a word, an added breath is introduced before the succeeding vowel, giving a sound of *i* consonant. This is repre-

* Numbers in parentheses refer to Literature Cited, p. 49.

6:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca.1935)1941 Pukapukans

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nevertheless as long as this type is not polar, much importance must be attached to cultural factors in defining the success with which the basic psychological personality adjusts itself to the status personality.[9] If on the other hand, as psychoanalytic theory appears to hold, the psychological nature of man is everywhere the same—that is if the infant in Siberia or in Africa or Polynesia is heir to emotional and sexual drives (libido) that must find outlet on object or self according to predetermined developmental stages—then it would seem that cultural factors can do little but accentuate here or play down there. The psychoanalytic contention that the nuclear complex is of universal occurrence is perhaps a case in point.[10] Psychoanalytic theory in this matter is still in a formative stage and doubtless it may be possible to adduce evidence in conflict with the preceding statement. Roheim, for instance, in his analysis of Australian materials, concludes that the Australian aborigine is predominantly of the oral character type,[11] a personality development that can be due to conditioning and to this only.

On the other hand Dr Susan Isaacs[12] inclines rather strongly to the opinion that cultural factors are of slighter importance than libidinal drives. She would expect to find in Pukapuka, personality types similar to those found in our own society. It would seem in support of this view, as careful study of all our records indicate, that Pukapukan children engage in behavior activities in frames of reference that are analogous to, or even identical with common behavior activities of American children. There are alternations of love and hate, object sucking, nipple biting, plays with sand and water, "cosy places" plays, genital manipulation, "family plays"—to name but a few. In this sense, and generalizing broadly, the major difference in the socialization process between Pukapukan and American children lies in the

[9] See for instance Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man* (New York, 1936), especially Chapters 8 and 26, and Plant, *op. cit.*, pp. 209–20.

[10] Compare Ernest Jones, *Mother Right and the Sexual Ignorance of Savages* (International Journal of Psychoanalysis, Vol. 6, pp. 109–30, 1925) with Malinowski's analysis in *Sex and Repression in Savage Society* (London and New York, 1927), *op. cit.* pp. 135 ff. Benedict, also, believes that an Œdipus complex is quite impossible among the Zuñi. See her *Patterns of Culture* (New York, 1934), p. 101.

It may be noted that since our article was completed (November, 1939) M. F. Ashley Montagu has summarized the relevant cultural material bearing on the Œdipus complex in his paper *Niaceism, Science and Psychoanalysis* (Psychiatry, Vol. 4, pp. 45–60, 1941, see pp. 48–49). Reference may also be made to Margaret Mead's recent survey of comparative work on character structure: Cultural Change and Social Sovereignty (Journal of Educational Sociology, Vol. 14, pp. 50–109, 1940). The relative importance of biological drives as compared with cultural factors in determining character structure and personality development has also become a matter of active recent discussion. See in this connection Harry Stack Sullivan, *Conceptions of Modern Psychiatry* (Psychiatry, Vol. 3, pp. 1–117, 1940), Ernest Beaglehole, *Interpersonal Theory and Social Psychology* (Psychiatry, Vol. 4, pp. 62–77, 1941), A. Kardiner, *The Individual and His Society* (New York, 1939), and finally, the more orthodox point of view and the references given in Bruno Lewy's article, *The Nature of the Repression* (Bulletin, Menninger Clinic, Vol. 5, pp. 47–55, 1941).

[11] G. Roheim, *The Study of Character Development and the Oceanic Theory of Culture* (in *Essays Presented to C. G. Seligman*, London, 1934, pp. 282–92). Horney gives a good summary of the present position in her *Neurotic Personality of our Time* (New York, 1937), pp. 16–20.

[12] From personal communication.

6:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca.1935)1941 Pukapukans

121 most fruitfully studied, the kinds of situations, observations of which would lead to the most valuable data, the type of training most desirable for those studying primitive children, an evaluation of case-study possibilities in primitive cultures, and a final emphasis on the importance of long-continued study of selected children over a period of years.[6] This last conclusion we take to be fundamental. One assumption of our *Notes and Queries* was that by studying children of different age levels problems incidental to a time series might at least be overcome. But the time series itself appears to be of spectacular importance if we wish thoroughly to understand personality development and socialization processes. By observation of children for a few weeks at a time, even by repeating such observation periods at regular or irregular intervals, it is possible to compile a formidable set of data relative to sex life, play, relations to other children and adults, and so on. But the question of interpretation still remains. How are these data to be interpreted as bearing upon the production of certain personality types or upon the theory and practise of child development? Only, we assume, by studying selected children over measurable time periods. In terms of theory, analytic or otherwise, it may be possible to infer that certain strains, inhibitions, repressions should result from the conditioning processes that a culture approves. The next step in method must always be to see if such strains and blockages do occur. And unless the same individual is studied over a long period of time, how can one be sure what happens and what the processes at work really consist in? We believe "retroactive" case histories that work backwards from the present are of great value. But of greater value still would be forward-working case histories that took the infant from birth, several particular infants in fact, and studied them with a day to day care, as they interacted with their personal and cultural environment. This would be a difficult task even for the most heroically conscientious and psychologically sophisticated anthropologist. But until it is done we will always be guessing at the key which solves the problem—guessing with some probability doubtless but never being sure the key has been found. The first five years of life are generally considered of importance in our own society for establishing the main personality reactive patterns in the child. A five year case history of a primitive child, starting from the first hour of life or before, would give the key that would open many of the doors that at present lock away the inner processes of personality socialization.

114 Turning now more specifically to the interpretation of field data, one point among many
128 may be emphasized. A survey of recent psychoanalytic and anthropological literature suggests some conflict of opinion over the relative importance of cultural factors in stabilizing personality patterns. Admittedly everything turns upon the question of what is psychologically given. If the hypothetical raw stuff of human nature is essentially plastic, easily to be molded this way or that, then culturalization must play an overwhelming part in personality development. Even should the individual be born with a basic personality type,

[6] Ian Hogbin, Polynesian Anthropology Today (American Anthropologist, Vol. 39, pp. 213-21, 1937), p. 220. Kluckhohn has also commented on this point among others in his paper: Theoretical Basis for an Empirical Method of Studying the Acquisition of Culture by Individuals (Man, Vol. 39, No. 89, July 1939).

6:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (ca.1935)1941 Pukapukans

fact that the Pukapukan attitude to overt sex expression among children is the very reverse of our own. This means that Pukapukan children say and do things that American children only phantasy about. The fundamental libidinal drives are the same. The difference is that what the children of one culture do, the children of the other culture dream. Our own feeling is that the implications of this difference for the culturalization-personality process are still unclear.

A similar suspension of judgment would also seem to be in order over the psychology of the so-called latency period. In our own society psychoanalysts conclude that repressive cultural attitudes towards sexual expression have the effect of so controlling libidinal development that the years of middle childhood, say from seven to twelve, are characterized by an absence of overt sexual behavior. Freud himself apparently inclined to the view that whether or not a latency period is found in a particular culture depends upon attitudes in that society to sexual expression or repression.[13] The data summarized here on Pukapukan children would appear to support this view. Again however Dr Isaacs, on the basis of her very extensive work with children, conceptualizes the latency period in somewhat different terms. According to her,[14] it is best understood as referring to the child's repression of its central unconscious conflicts with regard to his parents, the consequent lessening of emotional tension and stabilisation of attitudes towards adults and other children. In terms of this definition it is plain, as Dr Isaacs herself suggests, that the latency period is just as characteristic of Pukapukan children as of those of American culture.

One further note may perhaps be added in regard to interpretations. The adult Pukapukan character, as judged by cultural ideals, seems to be one marked by much aggressiveness. Evidence for this is found in intense village rivalries over sport (but not in economic matters), in innumerable personal chants that glorify individual prowess in love and other pursuits, in an at times turbulent island history marked by bloodshed and violence.[15] This aggressiveness might be directly due, on a theoretical analysis, either to specific patterns of childhood conditioning or else it might conceivably represent an over-compensation for fundamental insecurities and inadequacies brought about by the conditioning of other patterns. One's inability decisively to infer the types of adult character formation likely to result from childhood patterns even in our own society is presumably due to the fact that we are working with a social psychology that is as yet not as powerful as it may sometime become. One's difficulty is increased immeasureably when any sort of definitive analysis is attempted for a primitive society.[16] We confess a present inability to show the linkages within

[13] See for example Sigmund Freud, *An Autobiographical Study* (London, 1935), p. 66 fn.

[14] Susan S. Isaacs, *Social Development in Young Children* (London, 1933), pp. 359, 397-99, appendix 2, pp. 458-61.

[15] The role of this aggressiveness in Pukapukan culture and the mechanisms whereby it receives institutional and outlet have been briefly characterized: Ernest Beaglehole, *Emotional Release in a Polynesian Community* (Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, Vol. 32, pp. 319-28, 1937).

[16] G. Gorer has recently attempted this type of analysis in his *Himalayan Village* (London, 1938). Cf. Margaret Mead's review-article on this book in Oceania, Vol. 9, pp. 344-53, 1939.

9:Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-1935) 1939
OZ11 Pukapuka: OZ11

BRIEF PUKAPUKAN CASE HISTORY

By Ernest and Pearl Beaglehole,
Wellington, New Zealand.

114 124 THE following case history is offered as a short commentary on courtship and marriage in Pukapuka.[1] Though it refers to contemporary adolescence, the freedom of youth that it unconsciously assumes represents both an old-time and modern approved (implicitly at least) social condition over which missionary teaching lies like a thin veneer that cracks at the slightest provocation.

114 124 181 The case history is very objective. Lua (all the names are pseudonyms) was simply asked to tell something of her childhood and life before and after marriage. The subjects that she has emphasised are entirely her own. They represent the approach to life of all Pukapukan women. The very objectivity of this document serves to make it entirely typical of the way any woman thinks about fundamental values in Pukapuka, though hardly of the way she acts. The Pukapukans are an extraverted people. They tend to live a life of vigorous action. It was impossible to get the informant to make any special effort to recall emotions or feeling-tones for salient situations in her life. The material she presents on adolescence is specially interesting, representing a type of behaviour in youthful sex-experience which is probably rare, sexual play, that is, which does not reach consummation. Perhaps there is here a personality difference which for some reason or other of childhood conditioning, obscure and unfathomable at this date, resulted in behaviour entirely different from that which was and is normal for maturing adolescents.

[21] [1] Collected on Pukapuka (Danger Island). Dictated in the Pukapukan dialect to Pearl Beaglehole and freely translated by her. Pukapukan social organization is discussed in *Ethnology of Pukapuka*, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Bulletin 150, 1938, pp. 219-305. The map of Pukapuka (*Ethnology*, p. 18) may be consulted for place names referred to in this account.

9:Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-1935) 1939
OZ.11 Pukapuka OZ.11

114 124 597 The first paragraphs annotate a somewhat typical conflict, which may be either acute or implicit, between loyalties to blood-parents and those to adopted parents, a conflict that is all the more striking here because Lua did not learn the identity of her own blood-parents until she was about five years old. Adoption occurs with great frequency in Pukapuka, either before or soon after birth. Its function in general is to obtain an heir who will continue the paternal descent-line. Informants were fond of dwelling on the heinousness of those blood-parents who seek to attract back to themselves children they have allowed to be adopted. [673] Along with stealing from village-controlled reserve food-lands *(motu)*, such disloyalty to the adopting parents may be classed as the supremely ugly Pukapukan sin.

114 776 Belief in spirits and the fear of their ghostly visitation upon the living is still very real. Dreams are caused by ghosts, sickness as well, sometimes otherwise unexplainable pregnancies. Children are also disciplined by the threat that [861] ghosts will catch them if they misbehave.

882 [583] Marriage for the Pukapukan did and does come relatively late in maturity. Its object is to secure children who will complete the continuity of the descent-line. Boys and girls formerly went naked until physiological maturity. Then they were formally tested and admitted to sociological adulthood. The girl was allowed to wear the coconut-leaf kilt, the boy his coconut-leaf or pandanus *malo*. Along with this went full participation in village activities and an adult's share in food divisions. Thereafter the young people were given considerable personal freedom. Such freedom was [848] accepted and enjoyed to the full. The infrequent children born out of wedlock were accepted with thanks by the mother's family because they meant extra food in village [836] food-divisions. Chastity before marriage was and is a meaningless concept to the Pukapukan. When the young people tire of a life of freedom, or when one forms a romantic attraction for another of the opposite sex, then a permanent [585] alliance is announced by the establishment of a patrilocal domicile, socially validated by the holding of a food-division and the exchange of gifts between the families of the bride and groom.

11: Hutchin M-2 (1904) 1904 Pukapukans

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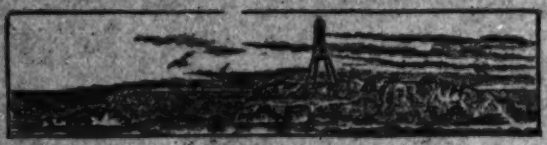

TRADITIONS AND SOME WORDS

OF THE LANGUAGE OF DANGER OR PUKAPUKA ISLAND.

By the Rev. J. J. K. Hutchin.

IN the month of May, 1904, accompanied by Lieut-Col. Gudgeon, C.M.G., I paid a visit to Danger Island, recently annexed to the Colony of New Zealand. It is a solitary atoll more than seven hundred miles to the north-west of Rarotonga, with a population of nearly five hundred people. Only one vessel has visited the Island since the visit of the s.s. "John Williams" in October, 1900. Owing perhaps to their want of communication with the outside world the majority of the people seem somewhat duller in intellect than the other Northern Islanders. One of the most intelligent of the natives is a man named Ura, and during our short stay there I gleaned the following information from him.

"Bukabuka was a rock in the ocean. A god named Tamaye watched the rock, and thought it to be of no use whatever. The rock, however, burst asunder, and a man appeared. He looked about him, and there was hardly standing room. He accordingly made the land of Bukabuka, and he was the ancestor of the people. His name was Uye. His wife came from Tonga, and her name was Te Vao-pupu. Their son was named Tu-nuri-vaka, and their daughter was named Te Mata-kiato.

In very ancient times two warriors came from Tonga, one was named Tokai-pora, and the other Taupe-roa, and they settled the people in three districts, one was called Avarua or Kotiporo, another Te Awau (p pronounced like w) or Paua-uri, and the third Taha-numi or Uro-kava. In those days the *kumara*, the sugar cane, and arrowroot grew on this Island. (The *kumara* plant flourishes now but has no tubers; the sugar cane grows when planted in the *taro* patches, but there is no arrowroot there at the present time).

They went to many lands in ancient times. Their warriors went to the east and west, but not to the north or south. The people went from Bukabuka (its ancient name was Nukuroa) to Samoa, to Niué,